602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608 Timbira SO8

/For specific instances of kin group behavior during ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 163-230./

1: Nimuendaju E·5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

they handle. This view finds expression in the rituals of economic life in its several phases. A tamhą'k is the first to taste of certain fruits in order to augment the crop; he lights the grass in a communal drive to ensure a plentiful kill; he makes the first incision in the hide of a slain tapir so that it may prove fat; and when fish are drugged, he precedes others in stepping into the water to spit the first victims, thus promoting an abundant catch thereafter.

Many tamhą'k consider their obligations a nuisance and formally resign by joining in the destruction of a wasp nest in the pepkahą'k (p. 214). This seems to be the only method of resignation.

It is only during the pepkahą'k that the King Vultures figure as an organized unit, and then only during the last fortnight of that festival, when they appear as allies of the Clowns, Falcons, and pepkahą'k, participating in sundry dances and log races, which culminate in the great ceremonial feeding of the tribal groups by the tamhą'k. On this occasion all the King Vultures wear the identical decoration, viz: On their backs, chests, arms and thighs their matrilineal kinswomen glue vertical stripes of falcon down to the width of three fingers; this distinguishes them from other hąmrén, who are completely covered with down at ceremonials. The bare parts of the body and limbs are daubed red with urucú. The occipital hair is tied together, and has fastened to it a rattling ornamental bundle of some thirty carefully smoothed bamboo rods, about 30 cm. long and of the thickness of lead-pencils. The tuft of the wearer's hair is pulled through a plaited ring at the top of the ornament; two long arara feathers—rarely worn at present because the species is almost extinct in this region—are thrust through the ring so as to project obliquely upward and outward.

Formalized Friendship Bonds

1. *The hąpín-pinčwę'i bond*

This social bond most frequently springs from name transference. A man who conveys his name to a sister's son or equivalent and a woman who bestows hers on a patrilineal kinswoman thereby make the boy the hąpín and the girl the pinčwę'i of all those who by similar transfer had become the uncle's and the aunt's "friends." For every personal name involves this bond with the bearers of from six to ten other names, masculine and feminine, including individuals of alien Timbira tribes. Thus, Tunkõ''s hapín are the bearers of the masculine names Kaukré; Kčča; Prjčet; Ke'ké; Pepkrõ'; Pąnatẽ'k; Kukaprõ'. His pinčwę'i are the women named Krąkupẽ'; Nyõną'n; Ikurẽ'.

Among these there is always a special friend (hąpínpey and pinčwę'ipey; pey = good, proper, real), viz., the bearer of a particular name who assumes the obligations connected with this bond in the fullest sense, while the other hąpín take them much more lightly.

Much more rarely the tie is established either automatically through joint exercise of certain ceremonial offices or by voluntary arrangement. The latter takes two forms. First, a person may tie an ornament of no particular type round a pregnant woman's neck and thereby become the hąpín of the infant as soon as it is born. This bond holds regardless of the child's sex and is considered to impose obligations as strong as those which hinge on the bearing of certain names. Secondly, youths and their girl associates may choose one or more "friends" during the pepyé phase of initiation. The day after their seclusion is lifted the novices, limiting themselves to their own age class, make their choice while camped in the woods by a creek near the village. If two initiates not yet so coupled by virtue of

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

572 561 their names desire to become "friends," they enter the creek, which is about a meter in depth, stand back to back, dive and simultaneously swim away in opposite directions, rise to the surface, and turn about so as to face each other. The relationship thus formed is taken less seriously than in the preceding cases, but may be inherited.

608 627 Especially at secret nocturnal meetings during the pepyé phase of initiation the first commandant of the novices explains the twofold obligations of "friendship," viz., mutual respect and solidarity. Respect is manifested in various ways. Speaking of or to one another, friends never use personal names, invariably substituting the terms hąpín and pinčwę'i without the pronominal prefix, and in the second case mostly resorting to teknonymous paraphrasing. If two "friends" meet on a narrow trail, neither yields precedence, *both* turning aside to the right or the left until past each other. A hąpín and his pinčwę'i must neither marry nor philander; indeed, in conversation they must avoid erotic references, including mention of anything relating to their own sex experiences. Even friends of the same sex converse seriously, neither laughing at the other or mocking him. If a dispute is unavoidable, it must not be carried on in the presence of others. In case of a definite breach the chief preferably appoints as arbiter one who is a hąpín to both parties; and similarly, in a conjugal quarrel he appoints the hąpín of the husband or the wife to make peace, the spouses being under obligation to heed this umpire's admonitions.

Too much mutual familiarity is forbidden to "friends." When conversing they do not look at each other, but stand abreast, each gazing straight ahead. At the Mummers' entrance into the village, girls customarily tie badges to the horns of the paraders, thereby becoming their respective "mothers"; but a masquerader mutely declines this favor by a movement of his shoulders if he recognizes the girl as his pinčwę'i.

No hąpín may beg of another. It was sometimes droll to watch Čątú, one of the worst mendicants in the village, inwardly struggling to restrain himself from begging of me. If I absolutely refused to take a hint, he would wait for a moment when we were alone, then with timid glances round about he would say in a subdued [577] voice, "hąpín, you know ... I am not allowed to say anything ... but ..." Only when pressed would he express his wishes in plain terms.

The second obligatory attitude, that of solidarity, sometimes assumes grotesque forms. Complementary to the prohibition of mutual mendicancy is the duty to look out for another hąpín's needs and to supply them by spontaneous presents. They also make common cause in danger and in dispute. Odd is the official appeal for aid in a difficulty. The suppliant waits for an assembly in the plaza, then steps in front of his friend, but with his back toward him, publicly explains his plight, and then goes home. The hąpín is then under obligation to do what he can in his friend's behalf.

123 608 But in case of danger a hąpín ought to leap into the breach spontaneously. During my periodic palavers with whisky dealers and other such bearers of culture Čątú quite unobtrusively soon takes up a position nearby, leaning on his enormous sword club, and watches the course of events. Sometimes he brings along several members of his age class. Subsequently he is likely to approach and apologize, "Look, hąpín, I know you told us not to interfere, but he might have become impudent." And at that Čątú is by no means a teetotaler!

In case of an accident it is a meritorious act for a friend to prove his loyalty by voluntarily undergoing the same pain. Once I slightly injured my arm; as soon as

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

123 Cątú heard about it he gashed himself in the corresponding spot with a knife. Such
608 a display of friendship is usually rewarded with a present.

For a pinčwę'i such performances are carried to a grotesque degree: Once a little
608 girl had been stung by a scorpion, whereupon her two pinčwę'i executed a mad
522 scene before the assembled throng outdoors. While the child was howling with pain inside, the women acted as though they had caught the scorpion (which had long since got away) and were allowing it to sting them. Then they pretended crushing it between their fingers and devouring it. In addition they indulged in all sorts of antics, evoking general mirth.

152 Similar nonsense is also practiced whenever a "friend" is ceremoniously distinguished, that is, especially at the beginning or the termination of seclusion in the initiation and the pepkahą'k festivals. Then the friends carry on most extravagantly around their hąpín by way of displaying their mad exultation over the distinction conferred on him. On one occasion a man straddled his sword club as though it were a hobbyhorse and wildly galloped about, wielding his signal trumpet as a crop; another howled and scratched up the earth like a dog; still another pulled back his prepuce and simulated copulation. Most commonly they dance about with protruding tongues, grotesquely swinging their limbs and their heads.

Mutual ceremonial obligations are extremely numerous and intricate. A friend
608 invests a person with ornaments, glues falcon down on his body, and paints him.
302 When the first commandant of the pepyé is freed from seclusion, his pinčwę'i decorates him. If possible it is a hąpín that paints a pepyé with the designs of his plaza group; and at pepkahą'k the pinčwę'i glue falcon down on the King Vultures and the similar decoration of the pepkahą'k themselves devolves on corresponding
[768] girl friends. Anyone who has been excluded from social intercourse by long absence or seclusion due to illness, mourning, and the like, cannot resume normal participation in the communal life unless he is first painted by a pinčwę'i or hąpín and has thus presented himself before the council in the plaza. Whenever, for example, I return to the tribe, my pinčwę'ipey, Kañõ', paints me and, because of my status as a King Vulture, hence, hąmrén, she also decorates me with falcon down. At a major ceremony of the great festivals the friends of either sex are compensated for their services with meat pies offered by the decorated performers' kinswomen; otherwise a minor gift constitutes their fee.

[764] When set on the bier, a man's corpse is painted by his pinčwę'i, a woman's by her hąpín, falcon down being substituted in case of a hąmrén. The remuneration is not taken from the dead person's property.

608 In most cases the decoration worn at a ceremony is surrendered at its close to
292 the wearer's hąpín and pinčwę'i. At the end of a pepyé seclusion the comb with which a novice's sister had stroked his hair was immediately turned over to his pinčwę'i, who suspended it from her neck. After the solemn parading of the first pepyé commandant subsequent to the lifting of his seclusion, his pinčwę'ipey immediately removed all his decorative outfit, viz., his forehead and girdle bands, bandoleers, and cotton belt; and nothing could induce her to sell me these regalia. The two girls graduating with the pepyé were divested by their pinčwę'i at the girls' final appearance in the plaza, while their hąpín appropriated the presents laid down for that purpose before them by the girls' kinswomen. At the close of their festival the pepyé, decorated with cloths, beads, and green tucum cords, left for a log race against the next oldest age class; at the exit from the village their pinčwę'i surrounded them and took off all their ornaments. Similarly, the women and girls who twice divest the pepkahą'k of their yellow cords are the wearers' "friends."

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

608 362 At pepkahą'k a man specially appointed and his assistant cut off the long occipital hair of the Falcons' pinčwę'i and of the King Vultures' "friends" of either sex. The clipped hair is united in a tuft and suspended from a tree outside the village.

608 364 Further, on certain occasions it devolves on the hąpín and pinčwę'i to clean the streets used for ceremonies in which their friends take part. Thus, at the pepkahą'k festival the friends of the pepkahą'k cleaned the radial paths from the performers' maternal homes to the plaza; and the King Vultures' friends cleaned the radii on which this order appeared for their main ceremony. The kinswomen of the persons on whose behalf this service is rendered always pay the workers with food. It should be noted, however, that at other festivities street cleaning devolves on definite societies.

608 In certain ceremonies a man carries his hąpín astride his shoulders. Thus, at a terminal vų'tę' solemnity the Little Falcon, a boy of about four, straddled his hąpín's neck, for the maternal uncle who had bequeathed the office to him and was the child's proper introducer was no longer living. At the pąrąre race of the terminal ceremony in both phases of initiation the two new class leaders ride on the shoulders of their hąpín.

608 575 In other cases "friends" serve as quasi-protectors of ceremonial performers. Thus, when the down-covered Little Falcon parades round the boulevard at the close of the Mummers' festival, his friends protect him against the Agoutis swarming around in order to tear the glued down from his body. At the inspection of new class leaders toward the end of pepyé their hąpín, with transversely extended sword clubs, seemed to bar the older age class from access to the hut of seclusion, but finally they left the way clear. For this act the two leaders' kinswomen brought bowls of food, which were put in front of the defenders' houses. At the close of their festival the pepkahą'k assembled with the King Vultures in a house, where the pinčwę'i of the former glued falcon down on them; when the Falcons approached, the friends of the pepkahą'k denied them ingress, holding poles in transverse position, and were rewarded with meat pies.

794 608 On the eve of the King Vulture ceremony the members' pinčwę'i have a special duty while the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures chant in the plaza. Spreading over their own backs the mats the pepkahą'k have made for the King Vultures, the girls formed a close circle round the dancers in order to shield them from the nocturnal cold. For this service they had received an advance payment of small meat pies from the King Vulture's kinswomen and in addition retained the mats.

608 171 From personal experience I know only a single phenomenon somewhat parallel to this hąpín bond of the Timbira, viz., the maĩtúma institution among the Šipaya, a tribe on the Rio Iriry, a large affluent of the lower Xingú. These people speak a language similar to Tupí and are in every respect close to the Yurúna. Their maĩtúma seems to have been connected with the cult of their national and war spirit, Kumãpári. In any case during zetabia, a purely religious festival dedicated to this spirit, those wishing to become maĩtúma were obliged to step before his wooden statue (upáši) and to utter their wish. On behalf of the spirit the medicineman would reply and blow tobacco smoke at the suppliants, who then jointly drank fermented manioc. The maĩtúma bond obliged partners not to quarrel with each other, to manifest mutual respect and helpfulness, and to abstain from indecent speech in each other's presence. In Portuguese both the Šipaya and the Timbira render the terms maĩtúma and hąpín, respectively, by *"compadre."*[m]

[m] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 1028.